



BS
1215
G45

Gibson

Pentateuch

Joshua

bdg #09

Sern.

Class 222.1

Book G35

University of Chicago Library

GIVEN BY

Ex Biblical world

Besides the main topic this book also treats of

Subject No.

On page

Subject No.

On page

THE PENTATEUCH AND JOSHUA

OR

THE HEXATEUCH

HISTORICAL

A SHORT STUDY IN THE HIGHER CRITICISM

BY

REV. ISAAC GIBSON,

Rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, Norristown, Pa.

PUBLISHED BY

GEORGE W. JACOBS & CO.

103 South 15th Street

Philadelphia

228

1899

BS1215
G45

PREFACE.

The broad statement that the literary form in which the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua now exist is not the same as that in which Moses and Joshua left them, is well calculated to disturb those by whom the traditional views upon the subject have been accepted as final.

With such disturbed feelings I can deeply sympathize, because I have passed through like experiences. My early convictions about the origin of these sacred books were formed in the "most straitest sect" of traditionalists, and the mere hint that they originated in a different way from the recognized one, and took their present form according to general laws of other ancient history, sent me to the acknowledged masters of Biblical learning for help against those whom I deemed enemies to the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Professors Green and Bissell were my first helpers, and for a time they gave me some rest. But as I continued my studies and came to occupy new stand-points, the facts so remarshalled themselves to my view that the traditional theories of these able scholars failed to explain them to my satisfaction; nothing could be harmoniously adjusted in obedience to their princi-

ples. The diverse character of the various parts of the Book of Genesis, and the general want of literary order in the other books of the Pentateuch, made the tradition of the one great authorship seemingly unworkable. I then sought help from the middle school of critics, represented by Principal Cave, of London, and Professor Robertson, of Glasgow, and found in them helpful teachers; but they fell short of the all-adjusting principles in their theories. Large shoals of facts obstinately refused to be adjusted by their incomplete methods. Still I was duly thankful that they placed me upon a new standpoint from which I saw plainly that it was useless to study the subject until I mastered the analysis, as proposed by the masters of the higher criticism.

I turned first to Lenormant's "Beginnings of History," in the light of which great work I got my first intelligent view of the critical method, and my first insight into the literary conditions of the Book of Genesis, by which its composite character was made evident. A little later on, through the able work of Rev. Benjamin W. Bacon, "Genesis of Genesis," I was enabled to see the work of Lenormant greatly simplified, and the critical principles he had illustrated applied to the other books of the Hexateuch with encouraging success. Then followed a close study of the exhaustive works of W. Robertson Smith, Canon Driver, Dr. Briggs and others, by which I was strengthened in the conviction that the higher criticism had succeeded in showing the presence in the Hexateuch of four leading documents so compacted together as to form an apparently continuous record, which re-

sult seemed to meet all the demands of the literary conditions to be accounted for.

Thus finding myself in possession of four ancient documents, the Jahvistic, the Elohist, Deuteronomy and the Priests' Code, I applied them to the phenomena of the Hexateuch with most happy results. But I had felt all along that there was another great authority of which the leading critics took too little notice, though many of them gave it some recognition. I mean Archæology, in its bearings upon the literary progress of the periods and the countries connected with the origin and growth of the Hebrew people and their probable historical methods.

From the first I had insisted that the Hebrews partook of the civilization of Chaldea from whence they came, and of Egypt, where they found a home for centuries; and that they were therefore possessed of the art of writing, and gave to their history the sure basis of written records after the fashion prevailing in both of these countries. Each new archæological discovery strengthened my convictions in this direction until at last the great discoveries of the Tel Amarna Tablets in Egypt, and of the statues of King Gudea in Babylonia, etc., cleared up the whole horizon, and made it evident that the conditions required for the existence of historic records were universally prevalent during the ages covered by the literature of the Hexateuch.

Through these experiences I have come to a sure landing place from which I can see the revelations of God to his chosen people, and their historical progress, taking the form of permanent contemporaneous records; and from which I can note

these records compiled into larger documents, until at last a master hand compacts these into one great work ; which work in all essential features is on the highest level of ancient historical documents.

As I had thus found sure ground for my old faith in the higher criticism, as treated in the light of archaeology, I felt impelled to give an outline of the subject, hoping in some measure to be helpful to others, who might be passing through painful experiences analogous to my own. If I have succeeded in showing in the following discussion that the much-dreaded critical methods give a highly probable historical foundation to the ancient revelations of God I have realized my most ardent desires.

After placing the following essay in the hands of the printer I read the "Pastoral Letter" of the House of Bishops concerning the "Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ" and "The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." To what they say on both subjects I assent, especially as I feel assured that my essay is of the nature of that reverent and devout criticism which they commend.

The Right Reverend Fathers say, p. 14, "It would be faithless to think that the Christian religion has anything to fear from the critical study of the Holy Scriptures. 'The Church of the present and of the coming day is bringing her sheaves home with her from the once faithlessly dreaded harvests of criticism.' We devoutly thank God for the light and truth which have come to us through the earnest labors of devout critics of the sacred text. What we deprecate and rebuke is the irreverent rashness and unscientific method of

many professed critics, and the presumptuous superciliousness with which they vaunt erroneous theories of the day as established results of criticism. From this fault professedly Christian critics are unfortunately not always exempt; and by Christian critics we mean those who, both in theory and practice, recognize the inspiration of God as the controlling element of Holy Scripture."

St. John's Rectory, Norristown, Pa., January 16, 1895.

INTRODUCTION.

In the following pages I have sought to give an outline of the present state of the discussion concerning the historical character of the Pentateuch, and Joshua or the "Hexateuch." I have aimed, in the first place, to show that the literary advancement was such during the ante and post Abrahamic period that the conditions for the production of historic records were sufficiently met; and, in the second place, that such records were made use of during the later Kings of Judah and Israel for the production of three prophetic works of historical character, usually designated in critical circles by the letters J., E., and Dt.—i. e., the Jahvistic, Elohist and Deuteronomy; and that later on, after the days of Ezekiel, a fourth historical document was produced by some priestly scribe, which is usually called the "Priests' Code."

In the third place I have tried to indicate the literary conditions of the Pentateuch and Joshua, showing that they were of composite character, and that the four documents just named were so joined together as to make one continuous history from the creation of the world to the conquest of Canaan; and that recent criticism has been able to separate them, and to give us back the four books somewhat in their original form. I have not discussed the critical methods by which this recovery of the ancient documents has been effected because the limits of this essay would not admit of it;

and I must therefore refer the reader to "Genesis of Genesis," by Benjamin Wisner Bacon ; "The Beginnings of History," by Lenormant; and "An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," by Canon Driver; who, with many other oriental scholars, have shown with great force that the analysis into the original documents has been scientifically accomplished.

In the fourth place I have aimed to show, as against such destructive critics as Wellhausen and Kuenen, that these original documents, J., E., Dt. and P., are historical in the same high sense that is claimed for all ancient historical records, and must be received and treated with like confidence.

In the fifth place I have given examples of the composite character of the Pentateuch and Joshua, or the "Hexateuch;" thus indicating the processes by which they were made to take their present form.

And lastly, I have sought to make it clear that the discovery and proper use of the ancient documents composing the Hexateuch, so far from unsettling the historic trustworthiness thereof, confirms it, and gives us a broader foundation for the revelations of God to his chosen people, and a clearer understanding of their significance; at the same time leaving all questions of inspiration in their integrity.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL CONDITIONS.

A few years ago it was difficult to prove that there had been sufficient literary development in the East before the Abrahamic period, or 2,000 years B. C., for the existence of history. Scholars of great learning could still insist that the art of writing, outside of a narrow circle in Chaldea and Egypt, was little known; that in the vast region including Canaan, and lying between these centres of civilization, the nations or tribes were in a barbarous condition, and could not be supposed to have a written language; but only knew the past by oral traditions, preserved mainly in folk lore and tribal songs, kept alive by bards, Sagas, or Homeric singers; that these tribes of central barbarians had little or no intercourse with the civilizations to the east or west of them, and were therefore in a condition of primitive ignorance. Gradually these assumptions have been disproved. The discoveries of Layard in the ruins of Nineveh, and the vast number of inscribed tablets recently discovered by excavations in Babylonia; the rapid increase of knowledge of the Egyptian inscriptions and papyrus rolls; and the very recent discoveries of the Tel Amarna Tablets, and of the literary advancement in ancient Arabia, together with the discovery of the Hitite inscriptions, all go to show that the entire East had, before the days of Abraham, attained to a high degree of civilization, and pos-

sessed records in abundance to constitute the basis of reliable history for thousands of years before Moses.

It is therefore now in our power to say that the Era of Abraham was within the historic period, and that his life and that of his descendants developed amidst historic environments.

The country from which Terah, the father of Abraham, migrated, was of high literary culture. Ur was a library city, which fact is sufficient to indicate its character, and we rightly presume that Abraham had partaken of its advantages, and that he took with him the ancient traditions of peoples and of religions which had long before taken the form of written records, which records may for a time have constituted his main stock of literature. It would be most unscientific to suppose that when he left his native country he left behind all that rich store of ancient tradition which we know there to have existed; and we have the right to insist that the story of the Creation and of the Patriarchs, together with the records of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel, were among his most treasured possessions.

When Abraham reached Canaan he came into close contact with people whose descendants, after a few generations, wrote many letters to the Kings of Egypt, and kept up the correspondence in the cuneiform characters of Babylonia, in which characters his own records were preserved. Under such historic conditions Abraham and his descendants would naturally add to their literary treasures in following the example of the Hitites and others, by writing down their trials and religious experiences; and when, after the deliverance of

the Israelites from Egypt, they sought the land of inheritance, promised to them through Abraham, they would carry out the inspiration of the high culture gained in the land of their bondage, by keeping records of their sojourn in the wilderness and of their final conquest of their new home.

The conquest of this new home was made by the defeat of the armies, and the capture of the cities of people whom we now know to have been on the same plane of civilization with Egypt and Babylon; and we have strong proof that they not only entered upon possession of the lands of the nations they conquered, but also upon their language and literary stores. Every step in Hebrew life seems to increase the historic conditions of the nation until we find in David a king worthy of such a people; who organized them into a compact nation; which he raised to the dignity of an empire, and which took its rightful place among the civilized nations of the earth.

That this nation in the following reign of Solomon developed a splendor in Jerusalem, with the Temple as its centre, which attracted the attention of distant nations, must be accepted as a fact resting upon as sure historic foundations as any period of any other ancient nation; and there is not the slightest reason, arising out of known conditions, to suppose a future period of literary retrogression by which the nation was brought below the level of sufficient historical conditions for preservation in writing, of the civil and religious progress of the people.

If it be objected that the nation became divided, and that religious defections became common in both Judah and Israel;

that wars of the sections became frequent and destructive; that there was a general decay of morals, taking the forms of greed, violence, injustice and dissipation; and that therefore there must have been decay of literature, making historic records to be of doubtful veracity, the answer is at hand in the writings of the Prophets in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. The writings of Amos and Hosea, followed by Isaiah and Micah, demonstrate the prevalence of high historic conditions. They were produced in the light of history, and their teachings were frequently illustrated and enforced by references to historical events with which the people for whom they wrote were familiar. For instance, Amos says, "I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt." "I have overthrown some of you as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." Isaiah says, "Thus saith the Lord who redeemed Abraham," and so on.

It was in the prophetic circles, and for the enforcement of high religious lessons in faith and morals, that many documents of a historical character were produced by prophets, but the chief results of this literary activity were the Jahvistic and Elohist documents, the former having been written in Judah in the ninth century B. C., and the latter in the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the eighth. To enforce great lessons in righteousness the prophetic writers gathered out of their great literary stores such incidents as in their inspired judgments would best avail to accomplish their purpose. They did not so much write histories, as historical discourses, to enforce their great teaching, that God always rewards loyalty to himself and obedience to his will, and that he, with cer-

tainty, punishes rebellion and iniquity. Keeping these doctrines of righteousness in view they mainly make prominent events that bear upon conduct and its results.

THE JAHVIST.

This writer begins with a narrative of the creation (Genesis ii, 4), and gives his first lesson in the righteousness of obedience to Jehovah by recounting the story of Adam and Eve in Eden, with a most graphic account of their punishment for disobedience. This he follows by a highly dramatic story of the crime of Cain, and touching lightly upon a few incidents he brings his argument to a grand climax by recounting the story of the Deluge, wherein righteous Noah and his family are saved by special divine providence, and the world of wickedness totally destroyed. Consistently, and keeping the same line of historical argument in view, he passes on to the building of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues.

The grand life of Abraham gives him ample opportunity to show Jehovah as the friend and guide to those who through faith and obedience secure his approval. All through the work of the Jahvist we are compelled to note his purpose to influence his readers to seek happiness and prosperity in the righteousness of God. The career of Joseph, the trials in Egypt, the incidents of the wilderness pilgrimage, and the conquest of the wicked peoples of Canaan, all lend themselves to his great plan for convincing his people, and redeeming them from their corruptions.

THE ELOHIST.

The Elohist duplicates the argument of the Jahvist. His aim is the same and his treatment is the same. He writes near the same period and in the atmosphere of a like civilization. As a prophet he keeps close to his teachings of righteousness by historic example. He does not concern himself much with chronology or genealogy, which are the main connecting links in a chronicle of events, but he seizes upon incidents which enforce moral and religious lessons. Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah would at once identify him as one of their class, and a co-worker with them in their chosen field, and accept his document, and that of the Jahvist, as a true recension of the sacred literature of the nation.

THE DEUTERONOMIST.

At a later period came the Book of Deuteronomy. After the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, and after the days of Isaiah and Micah, it was produced as a recodification of the laws of Moses, and a re-arrangement of his prophetic discourses. It had two conspicuous objects, viz., to enforce, under Mosaic sanctions, the old prophetic lessons of righteousness, and to unify the people of Judah by the concentration of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem. As St. John, in his Gospel, gives the discourses of Christ in what we may call the Johanine style, so the writer or compiler of Deuteronomy clothes in his own majestic style the teachings of the great Lawgiver, and gives to them such dramatic setting as the ancient records warrant, and the exigencies of the

truth require. It is not at all probable that he invented the law of the one place of worship, and the one altar, but there are reasons for believing that he found among his sources of information evidence of such having been the original design of Moses, to be realized when the Israelites should have become a settled nation. The Mosaic ideal, he plainly tells us in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy, was not realized in the wilderness; that during the forty years of wanderings the people did what was right in their own eyes, a condition of things which was to continue until God should give them rest from all their enemies, so that they might dwell safely; but when this condition of things should transpire God would choose a place, and that thither they should bring their burnt offerings, and their sacrifices, and their tithes, &c. Deut. xii, 10, 11. The proper conditions for the enforcement of this Mosaic tentative command, were left to the judgment of the future authorities of the nation, and these (supposing they knew of the Mosaic injunction), decided that the time for its enforcement had not arrived until Josiah, under the influence of the Book of Deuteronomy, determined to accomplish it. There are some indications that Hezekiah, eighty years before, thought the time had come to introduce the system of Temple unity, but he soon found that the conditions of unrest in the nation, and the dangers which environed it, did not meet the requirements of the Mosaic ideal. It is hardly probable that Hezekiah derived his knowledge from the Book of Deuteronomy, but that he had access to the sources from which it was afterwards compiled, perhaps by one inspired by his failure. Had the book of the Law, as contained in Deu-

teronomy, been in circulation at that time, Isaiah and Micah could hardly have escaped its influence, and have left no trace of its peculiar presentation of the law of central worship, nor yet of its high sanctions of the Levitical priesthood. I cannot go into the more elaborate arguments of the critical school to show that Deuteronomy was written after the reign of Hezekiah, but accepting as conclusive the claims of Orientalists generally, there is not the slightest reason to lower its standing as a sacred book, or to feel doubtful of its divine sanctions. Though the book, as such, was not written by Moses, it preserves substantially the Mosaic laws and regulations, with some slight expansions to adapt them to the progress of society. A wider application of the principles of a law, preserving the integrity of the law itself, while confirming all the rights of its author, does not change but establishes the law.

The book itself does not claim Moses for its author, but it does claim to set forth his discourses and laws. The standpoint of the compiler and codifier is not, as the ~~St~~ ^{King} James version gives it, on the east side of Jordan, but is most distinctly on the west side. He does not begin by saying, "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on *this* side Jordan in the wilderness," &c., but (as given in the Revised Version), "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness," &c.

This being so the book was not commenced until after the death of Moses, and after the Jordan had been crossed.

"Beyond Jordan in the land of Moab began Moses to declare this law, saying," are the words of one who wishes to

make plain to all men that he is not representing himself as the great lawgiver, but as a scribe who is about to set forth the discourses and laws as delivered by Moses. The laws had already been mainly codified in the documents of the Jahvist and Elohist, but a briefer and more direct unfolding of them, in their application to a new condition of things, was needed for their fuller influence upon Hebrew life; and the material for this was at hand in the archives of the nation, and in the religious literature of the times. To recast these materials, and to rearrange them, so as to give popular effect to the Mosaic orations, was the task which the writer of Deuteronomy set himself to accomplish, and which he did accomplish in a grand fashion; like St. John, producing a work which, though saturated with his lofty spirituality, was at the same time a true presentation of the teachings of his great master. There can be no charge brought against the Deuteronomist, which does not lie, with equal weight, against St. John. If he clothes the teaching of Moses in his own lofty style, so does St. John clothe the discourses of Jesus; and while St. John made the most successful presentation of the character and teachings of Christ, the Deuteronomist revealed to us Moses and his laws in their truest and most complete form, a work well worthy the greatest of the prophets. If Moses was inspired to make his deliverances, this prophet was inspired to present their contents in a form which for all ages would stand as the highest expression of ancient revelation. If Moses himself had written the book in all its details it would not have been truer in its representations, nor would it have been more deserving of credit as a revelation from God.

THE PRIESTS' CODE.

Next in order is the "Priests' Code." This was written from a priestly standpoint, probably after the time of Ezekiel. Its author made use of the older documents as they suited his purpose, which was to give an ecclesiastical history of his people. As any modern church historian would do, he sought out those sources of information which, while they did not ignore secular life, showed it as it was dominated by the religious element. As the prophets in the books J., E. and Dt. had laid emphasis upon events and ordinances of worship which bore upon moral conduct under God's sanctions, so the priestly author gave prominence to such things as enforced the claims of the priesthood, the central worship of the Temple, and other prominent religious institutions; his main object being to codify, with historic setting, the laws of the priesthood, sacrifice, purification, &c. His sources were chiefly the records treasured in priestly circles, which sources claimed Mosaic authority for all the usages of the Levitical ceremonial.

He begins his work with that grand account of creation given in Genesis c. i-ii, 4^a verse, and proceeds to give the generations of Adam and the genealogies of the Patriarchs to Noah. An extended account of the Deluge follows, which is closed with the covenant with Noah. In chapter x he gives the generations of Noah together with the distributions of the families of his sons to their various habitations. In chapter xi he records the generations of Shem, and follows with a brief account of Abram, with the covenant of circumcision (chapter xxii, 1), together with the circumcision of Isaac, the child of

promise (chapter xxi, 4). He has much to tell of the sons of Jacob, and of the descendants of Esau (chapter xxxiv-xxxviii), and follows with an enumeration of the family of Jacob upon their going down to Egypt, and closes his account in Genesis with some brief notices of the last days of Jacob. Of his work only a few scattered portions are found in the book of Exodus until we reach chapter xxv, when he begins his account of the building of the Tabernacle, &c., and follows it to the end of the book, with the exception of chapters xxxii-xxxiv, verse 28. The whole of Leviticus is his work (for it is probable that he engrossed the Law of Holiness, chapter xvii-xxvi), in which he gives a most minute account of the laws of sacrifice, and of the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, and the service of the Tabernacle, following in the book of Numbers with long genealogical tables, and regulations of the Levites, with several incidents illustrative of the workings of the Levitical laws, on to the death of Aaron. In the book of Joshua he reappears conspicuously in the accounts of the distribution to the various tribes of their inheritances, and in various events with which Eliazar, the son of Aaron, is conspicuously connected. It is with the establishment of the exclusive one-altar worship, and the exclusive priesthood of Aaron and his sons, that the writer of the "Priests' Code" is most concerned, and it is upon these things that he is most emphatic. His law of the one altar and priesthood, as given in Leviticus xvii, verses 1-9, is unmistakable.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them: This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded, saying,

What man soever *there be* of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that killeth *it* out of the camp,

And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord before the tabernacle of the Lord; blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people;

To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them *for* peace offerings unto the Lord.

And the priest shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the Lord *at* the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto the Lord.

And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring. This shall be a statute forever unto them throughout their generations.

And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man *there be* of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice,

And bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer it unto the Lord; even that man shall be cut off from among his people.

See also Numbers iii, 5-8.

By this law the "Priests' Code" seems to be placed in open contradiction to all other ancient authorities, and it is discredited, by some critics, as an historical authority in consequence. But before we accept such radical judgment let us get the full strength of the case.

I. According to the Jahvist, there was another law of altar worship given at Sinai:

An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice unto me thy burnt offerings and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen; in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an Altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if

thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.—Ex. xx, 24-26.

II. According to the Jahvist, "Moses . . . rose up early and builded an altar . . . and he sent young men of the children of Isael, which offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the Lord."—Ex. xxiv, 4, 5.

III. According to J. and E: After like fashion Joshua built an altar and offered sacrifice on Mount Ebal, which, it is said, was done in obedience to the law.

Written in the book of the Law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lifted up any iron.—Joshua viii, 31.

IV. It is said in the book of Judges (vi, 24-27) that Gideon built an altar and offered sacrifices, and in chapter xiii, 17-25, we are told that Manoah made an offering upon a rock which God accepted.

V. We are informed in the same book (xxi, 4) that, during the controversy of Israel with the tribe of Benjamin, the people built an altar unto the Lord and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings.

VI. We are told in the book of I Samuel (vii, 17) that Samuel built an altar unto the Lord at Ramah, and in xiv, 35, that King Saul built an altar.

VII. In II Samuel we have the information that King David built an altar and offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, though he had just brought back the Ark and placed it in the Tabernacle he had built for it.

VIII. According to the book of Deuteronomy Moses did not establish in the wilderness the Aaronic priesthood with exclusive rights to minister at one exclusive altar, but that he said to the people in his final charge to them:

When ye go over Jordān . . . ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man what is right in his own eyes. But when ye go over Jordan and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about so that ye dwell in safety, then there shall be a place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there; thither ye shall bring all that I command you, your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and your peace offerings of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto the Lord.—Deut. xii, 8-11.

Note further that Moses, in his addresses, as recorded in the book of Deuteronomy, never mentions Aaron and his sons as entitled to exclusive rights in the priesthood, but always implies that the Levites, as a body, are of the priesthood, the common term used being the "Priests the Levites." Confining the priesthood to the house of Aaron came later, perhaps after Ezekiel; for he excludes the Levites from the priestly office in the restored temple of his vision, because of their former defection. He says, xliv, 12-16:

Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the Lord God, and they shall bear their iniquity.

And they shall not come near unto me, to do the office of a priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, in the most holy place; but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have committed.

But I will make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.

But the Priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near

to me to minister unto me, and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord God.

They shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge.

Thus all authorities except the "Priests' Code" are against the exclusiveness of the one altar and the exclusiveness of the Aaronic priesthood having been the original law as given by Moses in the wilderness.

Now, what we have reached is not a theory, but a condition of historical fact. What shall we do with it? Shall we say, with some extreme critics, that the "Priests' Code" is thereby destroyed, as a historical document? In my judgment no such extreme treatment is called for. My thesis is: (after F. E. König) that Moses did establish in the wilderness the Tabernacle or tent of meeting, with its Ark and Altar, and that he did confer upon Aaron and his sons the chief direction of the worship therein as conducted by the Priests the Levites, and that he gave many and minute regulations for the proper conduct of sacrifices, offerings, purifications, etc., but that he did not make this central or tabernacle worship exclusive. As a great cathedral does not close the parish churches, so the cathedral in the wilderness did not close to the people the simpler houses of God, with their altars of earth or of unhewn stone; and, so, both systems, with their different cults, were recognized as legal, and went on together without hindrance from the authorities for about five hundred and eighty years, Egyptian chronology, when Hezekiah made his attempt to centralize worship in Jerusalem, or more than six hundred and fifty years when Josiah established the one Altar in the Temple by making the law in

Deut. xii effective, which act led the way to that full development of the Aaronic priesthood, and that exclusive one altar worship, as given in the "Priests' Code."

But while there is no place for the law of the exclusive priesthood of Aaron and his sons among the historic facts, as given in the older documents, J., E. and Dt., and the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings, there is room for the central Altar, and the high priesthood of Aaron and his sons, as, in connection with the Priests the Levites, conducting sacrificial worship in the Tabernacle in the wilderness, in the house of God at Shiloh, and in the temple at Jerusalem. This becomes evident when we note the line of historic facts covering the period from the early days of the Exodus to the destruction of the Temple.

According to J. and E., Aaron was of the family of Levi, and was closely connected with Moses as an official of some sort (Ex. xvii, 12 ; xix, 24, and xxiv, 1). He was recognized by the people as their religious leader when they caused him to make the golden calf to worship, Ex. xxxii, 22-35. He with Miriam rashly claimed equality with Moses (Numbers xii, 1-15), for which defection the Lord showed indignation by withdrawing the cloud from the door of the Tabernacle. He is not mentioned as connected with the Ark, but the priests bore the Ark at the passage of Jordan, and when it rested at Mizpah, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, a son of Aaron, stood before it (Judges xx, 27); and when the Ark was in the house of God in Shiloh, Eli, a son of Aaron, ministered at the central Altar as chief priest. Note from this time forward that though there are other sacrificings, yet the Altar at the Tabernacle is

honored. David, though offering sacrifice elsewhere, built a Tabernacle and restored the Ark to its place of dignity, appointing Abiathar and Zadock, sons of Aaron, priests, associated with all the Levites (II Sam. xv, 24, 25). When Solomon came to the throne he made Zadock Chief Priest (I Kings ii, 35), and when the Ark was born to its place in the Temple there were great sacrificings, at which the priests officiated. I Kings viii, 11.

Let us note further that though there were free sacrificings all over the land at the sacred places, yet there was respect of high character held for the Altar at the Tabernacle, with its sons of Aaron officiating; that though David offered sacrifice in Jerusalem, yet he restored the Tabernacle worship under Abiathar and Zadock; and that though Solomon went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, and was approved of God (I Kings iii, 1-5), yet on his return to Jerusalem he sacrificed before the Ark, thus showing his reverence for its central claims, while he exercised his *legal* freedom of altar worship elsewhere (I Kings iii, 15); and let it be noted that this central worship, under leadership of sons of Aaron, continued down to the captivity of Judah and the destruction of the Temple.

Now, leaving out of consideration the expansions and additions to the laws of worship, &c., which arose through centuries of practice, and were classed with the original regulations of Moses, we reach the conclusion that the *exclusiveness* of the central worship, the one Altar, and the Aaronic priesthood, were the gradual development of an original Mosaic ideal, reaching its first epoch in the reign of Josiah, and attaining to its

full form after Ezekiel; and that the fully elaborated law, as given in Leviticus (xvii, 1-9), was an interpolation into the records, from which the compiler of the "Priests' Code" drew his information. As the one Altar had been established to the exclusion of all others, by Josiah, in obedience to Deuteronomy, and as the sons of Aaron were in connection with its services, as the leaders of the "Priests the Levites," it was but a logical step to conclude that the Mosaic ideal gave warrant for the limitation of actual ministrations at that one altar to that one family of priests. To shape a law, under such circumstances, was but conforming to a natural tendency which has abundant illustration in religious literature. If, for instance, the ancient codifier found among his documents frequent declarations that it was the law of Moses that there should be one Altar, and that the priests officiating should be of the family of Aaron, he would ask no questions, but proceed to put the law in shape, according to the traditional formularies in use, and thus, by an easy process, give us the results in Leviticus xvii, 1-9. We need not be disturbed by interpolations of this character; for the legitimate unfolding of an ideal is the consummation of the revelation which it contains; and we have the right to hold it to be the result of the continued presence of that divine inspiration which gave it its first impulse. The mere fact that a later writer mistook the full developments of an ideal into a clearly codified law for the original law itself given in the wilderness, does not detract from its authority; it only shows that he gave to his facts a wrong chronology by a disarrangement of his dates.

Interpolation after this fashion, when it can be thus identified, does not impair the historical standing of the documents

containing it, but confirms it; our ability to thus disentangle the history from the interpolation giving to it higher claims to credit; and in this instance results in placing the "Priests' Code" upon surer historical foundation, and in giving higher warrant to its historical claims. The Gospels are not discredited by the identification of several important interpolations in them, but on the contrary they have gained much in the estimation of critical scholars by this very condition. We do not believe the Gospel of St. John the less because some Christian scribe interpolated the story of the woman taken in adultery, nor do we give the less heed to his first epistle because the three witnesses crept into the text.

Why then should we be nervous about the books of the Old Testament, when it is claimed by higher critics that they can show them to have suffered like experiences?

Thus I claim that, after all critical eliminations and readjustments, the "Priests' Code" stands upon a firm historical foundation, and that it is of immense value in discovering to us the religious developments of the Hebrews.

Without the "Priests' Code" the records preserved for us in the Hexateuch would be in hopeless confusion, both as to chronology and genealogy. The compiler of it saw this, and so made it the basis of his work; as it were, its backbone and spinal chord, thereby giving to the resulting book its notable unity of plan and order of movement. The "Priests' Code" thus preserved gave shape to the later religious literature of the Jews, and found its full expression in the grand services of the second Temple; and became the source of those wonderful unfoldings of the true significance of the High Priesthood of Christ, with his one sacrifice for sin, so clearly presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEXATEUCH, COMPOSITE.

In the foregoing chapter I have outlined the critical claims for the existence of four leading documents, J., E., Dt. and P., before the origin of the Hexateuch, or the Pentateuch and Joshua. By skillful use of these, it is claimed, the Hexateuch was made to take its present form; in other words, it is claimed that it is a composite work, resulting from the compacting together of such parts of the original documents (J., E., Dt. and P.) as would form a complete narrative of events, and a full codification of laws, from the creation of the world to the completion of the conquest of Canaan.

In order to show the probability of this composite character, and to illustrate its meaning, I present several quotations from the various books of the Hexateuch in parallel columns.

PRIESTS' CODE, OR P.

GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

Creation of Heaven and Earth.

1 In the beginning Elohim created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of Elohim moved upon the face of the waters.

3 And Elohim said, Let there be light: and there was light.

JAHVIST, OR J.

GENESIS.

CHAPTER II.

4 ¶ In the day that Yahweh Elohim made the earth and the heavens,

5 And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for Yahweh Elohim had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and *there was* not a man to till the ground.

6 But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

4 And Elohim saw the light, that *it* was good: and Elohim divided the light from the darkness.

5 And Elohim called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

6 ¶ And Elohim said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

7 And Elohim made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And Elohim called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

9 ¶ And Elohim said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so.

10 And Elohim called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and Elohim saw that *it was* good.

11 And Elohim said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed *is* in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed *was* in itself, after his kind: and Elohim saw that *it was* good.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

14 ¶ And Elohim said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days; and years:

15 And let them be for lights in the

7 And Yahweh Elohim formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

8 ¶ And Yahweh Elohim planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

9 And out of the ground made Yahweh Elohim to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

11 The name of the first *is* Pison: that *is* it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where *there is* gold;

12 And the gold of that land *is* good: there *is* bdellium and the onyx stone.

13 And the name of the second river *is* Gihon; the same *is* it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia

14 And the name of the third river *is* Hidekel: that *is* it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river *is* Euphrates.

15 And Yahweh Elohim took the man, and put him in the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

16 And Yahweh Elohim commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

18 ¶ And Yahweh Elohim said, *It is* not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpmeet for him.

19 And out of the ground Yahweh Elohim formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought *them* unto Adam to see what he would

firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And Elohim made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he made the stars also.*

17 And Elohim set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.

18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and Elohim saw that *it was good.*

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 And Elohim said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl *that* may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.

21 And Elohim created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and Elohim saw that *it was good.*

22 And Elohim blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply and fill the the waters in the seas, and let the fowl multiply in earth.

23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

24 ¶ And Elohim said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.

25. And Elohim made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and Elohim saw that *it was good.*

26 ¶ And Elohim said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over

call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that *was* the name thereof.

20 And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found a helpmeet for him.

21 And Yahweh Elohim caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof.

22 And the rib, which Yahweh Elohim had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man.

23 And Adam said, This *is* now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.

24 Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.

25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.

CHAPTER III.

1 Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which Yahweh Elohim had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath Elohim said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?

2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:

3 But of the fruit of the tree which *is* in the midst of the garden, Elohim hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

4 And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die:

5 For Elohim doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Elohims, knowing good and evil.

the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

27 So Elohim created man in his *own* image, in the image of Elohim created he him; male and female created he them.

28 And Elohim blessed them, and Elohim said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.

29 ¶ And Elohim said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which *is* upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which *is* the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat.

30. And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* life, *I have given* every green herb for meat: and it was so.

31 And Elohim saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, *it was* very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

CHAPTER II.

1 Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.

2 And on the seventh day Elohim ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.

3 And Elohim blessed the seventh day and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which Elohim created and made.

4 ¶ These *are* the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created.

6 And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make *one* wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.

8 And they heard the voice of Yahweh Elohim walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of Yahweh Elohim amongst the trees of the garden.

9 And Yahweh Elohim called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where *art* thou?

10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself.

11 And he said, Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee thou shouldst not eat?

12 And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

13 And Yahweh Elohim said unto the woman, What *is* this *that* thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14 And Yahweh Elohim said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.

And so on to verse 24.

A critical view discloses marked differences in these accounts of the creation. The first (the priestly account) names the creator Elohim, and is almost free from anthropomorphic representations of God. It represents Elohim as doing all things spontaneously, by the power of his word. He speaks and it is done. He commands and it stands fast. He says, "Let there be light and there is light," "Let there be a firmament," etc., "Let the earth bring forth," etc., "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness," etc.

It is after this sublime fashion that the "Priests' Code" represents God as creating the universe. It is far above and outside of all human analogies; and is in harmony with the highest ideal of theism that the most spiritual civilization has yet attained. The Infinite and Omniscient One is emphasized in it as he is nowhere else in the early religious literature of the world.

The second (the Jahvistic) account is in all these respects different, and so radically different, that it is impossible, on any principle of criticism, to assign it to the same writer. In the first place it begins without a hint that an account of creation had just been given covering six days of divine work, and which this second account is, in a measure, to duplicate and expand; but it begins *ab initio*. "In the day that YAHWEH ELOHIM made the earth and the heavens."

In the second place, the order of creation is different from the Priestly account, in which man was created after all other animals; while in this, the Jahvistic document, he is created before them, and the woman is created last, because there is found no help meet for man among them.

In the third place the creation proceeds after a purely anthropomorphic method, its processes being all mechanical. Yahweh forms man of the dust of the ground, and breathes into his nostrils the breath of life. He plants a garden, and places man in it, giving him orders concerning his food. He puts him into a deep sleep, and taking a rib from his side he makes of it a woman, and brings her to the man. He walks in the garden in the cool of the day, and calls the hiding Adam and Eve to answer for their transgression. He arraigns them before him after the fashion of a judge, and gives them formal trial, and pronounces judgment of condemnation upon them; and drives them from the garden, placing guards to prevent their return. A more complete anthropomorphic representation of God it would be hard to find in any literature, and a more striking contrast with the first (Priests' Code) account could not easily be imagined. All this, taken in connection with the sudden introduction of the special divine name, Yahweh, the startling change of style, the evident deflection of purpose and change of literary plan, shows conclusively the work of a different hand from that which gave the Priestly account.

Following on, we find in the history of the Flood the same general feature of difference, in two accounts there joined into one.

J.

GENESIS VII, 1-5.

1 And Yahweh said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

P.

GENESIS VII, 13-16.

13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark.

2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that *are* not clean by two, the male and his female.

3 Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

5 And Noah did according unto all that Yahweh commanded him.

14 They, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, and every bird of every sort.

15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein *is* the breath of life.

16 And they that went in, went in male and female of a l flesh, as Elohim had commanded him.

The first (Jahvistic) says that Yahweh commanded Noah to take into the ark clean beasts by sevens, male and female, and beasts that were not clean by twos, the male and his female; whereas the second (Priests' Code) says that two of every kind went in unto Noah in the ark. "Two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life," and "they that went in were male and female of all flesh as Elohim commanded him," taking no notice of any distinction between clean and unclean beasts. The first account says that Noah did as Yahweh commanded him, and the second that he did what Elohim commanded him. This literary condition could have arisen only in one way, to wit: by combining into one the products of two different authors.

When we reach the fifteenth chapter of the book of Genesis we begin to meet the traces of another document in which the word Elohim is used for God, and which in general style and form is very different from the "Priests' Code," but which is closely akin to the Jahvistic document. When we reach the xxxvii chapter this document takes notable place in the account of Joseph's trials and his deportation to Egypt.

The two accounts which follow have been ingeniously mingled, so as to make one story, but can easily be restored to their original form, and in spite of some omissions, made necessary by the work of joining them, will appear in their ancient integrity.

J.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

13 And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed *the flock* in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. And he said to him, Here *am I*.

14 And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, see whether it will be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem.

15 ¶ And a certain man found him, and, behold, *he was* wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What seekest thou?

16 And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed *their flocks*.

17 And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

18 And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him.

19 And they said one to another, Behold, this dreamer cometh.

20 Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him; and we shall see what will become of his dreams.

21 And Reuben heard *it*, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, Let us not kill him.

E.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

22 And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, *but* cast him into this pit that *is* in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again.

23 ¶ And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stripped Joseph out of his coat, *his* coat of *many* colours that *was* on him;

24 And they took him, and cast him into a pit; and the pit *was* empty, *there was* no water in it.

25 And they sat down to eat bread:

28 Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit.

29 ¶ And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.

30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child *is* not; and I, whither shall I go?

36 And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.

25 And they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry *it* down to Egypt.

26 And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit *is it* if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood?

27 Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he *is* our brother *and* our flesh: and his brethren were content.

. And sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty *pieces* of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

31 And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood;

32 And they sent the coat of *many* colours, and they brought *it* to their father; and said, This have we found; know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.

33 And he knew it, and said, *It is* my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.

34 And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

35 And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither.

In E. the first part of the story has been omitted and J.'s account preferred, but what is left is perfectly consistent. Reuben, seeking to deliver Joseph, has him put into a pit, and while his brethren are eating, the Midianites stole him from the pit, and carried him to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar.

In J. Reuben advised his brethren not to kill Joseph, and Judah counseled them to sell him to a passing company of Ishmaelites, and they sold him for twenty pieces of silver, and the Ishmaelites brought him to Egypt and sold him to an Egyptian.

These accounts are so plainly from different sources that no comment is needed; but there is one thing to be noted which throws much light upon the work of the compiler, to wit: he placed J.'s account of the sale of Joseph in Egypt by the Ishmaelites at the beginning of chapter xxxix, thus putting a whole chapter between that and E.'s statement at the close of chapter xxxvii, that the Midianites sold him, after having carried him to Egypt, to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard.

EXODUS.

E.

J.

P.

CHAP. XXXIII, 7-17.

CHAF. XXX.II, 18-23.

CHAP. XXXIV, 29-35.

7 And Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the congregation. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the Lord went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp.

18 And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.

19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee; and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew

29 ¶ And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount Sinai with the two tables of testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.

8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, *that* all the people rose up, and stood every man *at* his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the tabernacle.

9 And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended, and stood *at* the door of the tabernacle, and *the Lord* talked with Moses.

10 And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand *at* the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man *in* his tent door.

11 And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tabernacle.

mercy on whom I will shew mercy.

20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me, and live.

21 And the Lord said, Behold, *there is* a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock:

22 And it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by;

23 And I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen.

30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him.

31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him; and Moses talked with them.

32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh and he gave them in commandment all that the Lord had spoken with him in mount Sinai.

33 And *till* Moses had done speaking with them, he put a vail on his face.

34 But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the vail off, until he came out. And he came out, and spake unto the children of Israel *that* which he was commanded.

35 And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

We have here three representations of the interviews of Moses with Jehovah, which are so manifestly different as to compel the conviction that they were taken from different sources. According to E. Moses saw God face to face; whereas, according to J. God refused to allow Moses to see his face, because no man could see his face and live (verse 20). P. was

evidently inspired by E. with the idea that Moses saw God face to face, and therefore went before the Lord unveiled. These different representations are grouped in chapters xxxiii and xxxiv, which fact makes the composite character of the work the more evident.

LEVITICUS.

It is not convenient to give quotations from the book of Leviticus to illustrate its composite character, for the reason that the whole book is made up of three sections. Chapters i-xvi are from P.; chapters xvii-xxvi are from "The Law of Holiness," as seemingly recodified by P., and chapter xxii is from P.

Of the "Law of Holiness" Canon Driver thus speaks:

"We arrive here at a group of chapters which stand by themselves in P., while in general form and scope appertaining to P., they differ from the main body of P. by the presence of a foreign element, which manifests itself partly in style and phraseology, partly in the motives which here become prominent. The phenomena which the chapters present are explained by the supposition that an independent, and in all probability an older body of legislation, lies at the basis of chapters xvii-xxvi, which has been incorporated in P. . . .

"The elements thus united with P. are distinguished from it, partly by the predominance of certain expressions, never or very rarely, found in P. (or indeed in the Hexateuch generally); partly in the predominance given to particular principles and motives. The laws themselves have also (in certain instances) been provided with parenetic frame work in a manner unlike that of P." Introduction, &c., pp. 43, 44. See also pp. 45, 46

for a list of phrases which characterize the code of Holiness, as distinguished from the great body of the "Priests' Code."

NUMBERS.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE SPIES.

P.

CHAPTER XIII.

26 ¶ And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying,

27 How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me.

28 Say unto them, *As truly as I live*, saith the Lord, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you:

29 Your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me.

30 Doubtless ye shall not come into the land *concerning* which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

J. and E.

CHAPTER XIII.

20 And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word:

21 But *as truly as I live*, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord.

22 Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles, which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have tempted me now these ten times, and have hearkened to my voice;

23 Surely they shall see not the land which I swear unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it:

24 But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it.

In P's account Joshua and Caleb are always united, and Aaron is mentioned several times as acting with Moses; and in the portion quoted above Joshua and Caleb are to come into the land of promise as a reward for their faithfulness; but in J. E. Caleb appears and acts alone; and Moses is always named without Aaron; and it is Caleb only who is to be preserved alive, and to be rewarded in the land of promise. A study of the whole account shows most conclusively that two narratives, taken from different sources, have been compacted into one story.

JOSHUA.

THE MONUMENTAL STONES.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER IV.

4 Then Joshua called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the children of Israel, out of every tribe a man :

5 And Joshua said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the Lord your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel :

6 That this may be a sign among you, *that* when your children ask *their fathers* in time to come, saying, What *mean* ye by these stones ?

7 Then ye shall answer them, That the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord ; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off ; and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever.

9 And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood : and they are there unto this day.

1 And it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed over Jordan, that the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying,

2 Take you twelve men out of the people, out of every tribe a man.

3 And command ye them, saying, Take you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and ye shall carry them over with you, and leave them in the lodging place, where ye shall lodge this night.

8 And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the Lord spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel, and carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged and laid them down there.

20 And those twelve stone, which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in Gilgal.

21 And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their father in time to come, saying, What *mean* these stones ?

22 Then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.

23 For the Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, until ye were passed over, as the Lord your God did to the Red sea, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over :

24 That all the people of the earth might know that the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty : that ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.

We have here one command to gather from the river, "where the priests' feet stood firm," twelve stones, by twelve men, one from each tribe, which stones were to be carried over the river and left in the lodging place; but of these stones, according to the composite account, were two monuments built. One in the midst of the river, and one in Gilgal. In each case the reasons given for the memorial stones are the same, but at the same time different, verses 6, 7; verses 21-24. The combination of two accounts in the formation of one story is evident.

All higher critics agree that the book of Joshua is composite, and that it is constituted mainly of excerpts from J., E. and P., with some other sources, not yet definitely determined; and also with many very important additions and touches by a redactor, who wrote in the spirit and style of the author of Deuteronomy.

Of course the reader understands that what I have given above makes no pretensions to being more than an outline of the subject, and that he must seek in the works of specialists full information upon all the points touched upon to illustrate the composite character of the books of the Hexateuch, and the general character of the varied literature it contains.

CONCLUSION.

Let us now take a retrospective view of what we have done: (i) we have shown that the whole period covered by the literature of the Hexateuch met the conditions required for the existence of history; (ii) we have shown that out of these historical conditions there came four documents, the Jahvistic,

the Elohist, Deuteronomy, and the Priests' Code; (iii) we have shown that by composite methods these four documents were united into one continuous record concerning peoples and laws from the creation of the world to the conquest of Canaan.

Thus we have shown that Hebrew literature developed under the same laws that determined the form of literary progress among the great civilizations of the East. All history, among them, was the outcome of redactions or recompositions, the older records being worked over and presented from new standpoints, and in new forms by each succeeding school of historians, inspired by the purpose of giving historic facts in a style demanded by changed culture and altered tastes. The latest history of a country or a religion may have been, and often was, the truest. Our present knowledge of ancient methods does not therefore warrant alarm, when we say that the history of the Hebrew nation and religion does not now exist in the form in which Moses left it, but that it was worked over from age to age, until it finally took the shape in which we have it.

"This" says Prof. Sayce, "is fully in accordance with the teachings of Archæology. The place occupied by the Pentateuch in the sacred literature of Israel was substantially occupied by the so-called Book of the Dead in the sacred literature of Egypt, as well as by the religious hymns, and the ritual, of which they form a part, in the sacred literature of Babylonia.

. . . . The composite character of the Pentateuch, therefore, is only what the study of similar contemporaneous literature, brought to light by modern research, would lead us to

expect. The Higher Criticism has thus been justified in its literary analysis of the books of Moses."

But the practice of making new works by composite methods did not pass away with the remotest antiquity; it survived until late in the second century of our era, when Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, produced the Diatessaron, by compiling a single gospel, by the union of those of the four Evangelists, in precisely the same way that the Hexateuch was produced.

This Diatessaron played an important part in the history of a number of the Syrian churches in the fifth century, for it came near supplanting the separate Gospels in the great Dioceses of that country.

"It must be borne in mind," says Dr. Moore, of Andover, "that this patchwork was made, not of indifferent historical writings, but of the sacred books of the Christian Church; that it was meant to take the place of the Gospels; that it accomplished its end so successfully that it almost completely superseded the separate Gospels in the public use of a considerable part of the Syrian churches; that it was, apparently, only under influence from without that it was banished from the use of these churches in the fifth century. Aphrates and Ephraim are acquainted, indeed, with the separate Gospels; but it is certainly within the bounds of possibility that, if the Syrian Church had been left to itself, without contact with the greater church to the West, the knowledge of the separate Gospels might in the end have been lost, even among the learned. The parallel to the history of the Pentateuch would then have been complete." And to this we may justly

add that if Theodore, Bishop of Cyrus, who suppressed the Diatessaron, had, instead of having in his possession the original Gospels, disentangled them from their composite arrangement in the Diatessaron, and restored them to their separate forms, he would have been in exact parallel with the modern Higher Critics, who are certainly, like him, not destroyers of, but in as high a sense if not in so complete a result, restorers of the word of God.

In thus restoring the Prophetical and Priestly documents the Higher Critics have performed a work for which the Christian and Jewish world may well be thankful.

Now all things are made to fall into their right places and to appear in their true historic order; and now the development of Revelation, under divine guidance, becomes a movement in the rising inflection, in harmony with the historic unfolding of human intelligence, and the enlargement of spiritual experiences.

In all this there is no impairment of the idea of Divine revelation, and no toning down of faith in the supernatural. Inspiration has abundant room for its wonderful deliverances through Patriarch and Prophet, Lawgiver and Psalmist, and demonstrates its presence in all these, by the superiority of their work and high spirituality of their utterances. The inspiration was divine, but its instruments were human, and the resultant revelations of religious truths were colored by the medium through which they passed, and shaped by the human conditions which determined their limitations. God spoke to man according to man's capacity to receive and digest the sacred lessons, which lessons took that permanent form in the

prevailing religious literature which the culture of the times determined. Thus God's revelations to man, in the ancient records, were through man, and we are able to note their progress from age to age until in the fulness of time He spake unto us by His Son, who fulfilled all Messianic prophecies, and realized, for us, all types and shadows in his divine person and in his redeeming work.



2 29441

120087

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



48 451 374

